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575 yarkwá festivals. On these occasions they assemble in a special house lying toward the north on the eastern half of the circumference. However, the Clowns may also be seen singly or in small groups on many other occasions, even in everyday situations; but they withdraw from all the more serious and solemn ceremonials.

575 522 536 In their public performances the Clowns are distinguished by their grotesque make-up as to paint, ornaments, and other paraphernalia; and their behavior is correspondingly absurd. They affect a ridiculous gait and mien and deceive the villagers by harmless lies and false alarms without evoking resentment.

For example, when a boy's ear lobes are pierced, his maternal uncle kills a deer on some unspecified day, dissects it, packs the slices into a basket, and furtively carries this to the plaza. No sooner have the women caught sight of him than they dash out of their houses with knives in order to snatch off a piece of meat in the general scrimmage. One morning when this episode had been due for several days there finally loomed a figure at daybreak that ran toward the plaza carrying a load, which it hurriedly deposited before taking to its heels. At once the women and girls rushed over with yells, fell upon the basket pell-mell, and tore it open, each trying to seize as much as she could of its contents. But this proved to consist of straw, rotten wood, rusty tin cans, and a few rocks. Not only the Clowns, but the whole village laughed at the women standing flabbergasted before their "booty" with their knives and finally they themselves joined in the general merriment.

At certain house-to-house processions the Clowns try to steal food and are sometimes beaten by the women, to everyone's amusement.

At pepkahą'k four of them, with their two girl auxiliaries, enter with face masks of *Lagenaria* rind.

However, the ceremonial activities of the Clowns, as well as of the other organizations are best considered in the description of the festivals.

The Hąmrén

554 622 562 561 This honorific order comprises five otherwise unrelated groups which share public esteem and ceremonial eminence: (1) the village chiefs (pa'hí); (2) the leaders (mamkyẽ'ti) of the age classes; (3) those girls who are associated with the boys during their initiation ceremony and are called pepkwę'i after the close of the initiation; (4) the women's precentresses (mehõkrepúi); (5) the King Vultures (tamhą'k). Because of the numerical preponderance of the last-named group over the others combined, the term hąmrén is often used as a synonym for tamhą'k; properly it means "recovered from illness."

The first three groups of functionaries are appointed by the council on the basis of personal fitness. This also determines the choice of a precentress, but she is usually selected by the girl's family.

622 623 562 554 Notwithstanding the respect accorded to the hąmrén, they are not coextensive with the persons of distinction, for the councilmen, who (with the chiefs) rule the tribe and are always approached reverentially with a bowlful of food, are by no means hąmrén *as* councilors, but only through special circumstances. Similarly, the precentor, though far more important than his female colleague, is never hąmrén ex officio.

778 554 The natives link the concept of hąmrén with that of something special, superior, more refined, so that they are somewhat distinct from the rest of the population. The head of the King Vultures compared them to the "doutores" of Neobrazilian rustics, who apply the term to all intellectuals, superior officials, etc., irrespective of academic rank. By contrast all other residents are classed as mekakránkra (me,

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When about four to eight years old the girls wear as festive decoration wooden bracelets, which are sometimes prettily carved.

Boys segregate themselves from girls at an early age. Their first and principal toy is a small bow, which differs from the adults' weapon in having a round cross section (pl. 24, *a*). The first arrows are little rods made from the ribs of palm leaflets (pl. 24, *b*). As the lads grow older, bows and arrows gradually approach the ultimate form, the stave grows flatter, the arrows are feathered and pointed.

Among playthings there are toy guns for shooting maize kernels by means of an elastic strip of bamboo (pl. 23, *g*). Obviously borrowed from Neobrazilians, they share the name of firearms, katõkre (tõk, the report of a gun). Further, the boys have buzzers (pl. 24, *n*), humming tops with a string pulled through the hole in a little board (pl. 24, *i*), small palm-nut tops, miniature imitations of dance masks, animal figurines of wax (pl. 23, *a–f*), and grass figures like those of the Apinayé.[28]

Trick carvings (pl. 24, *o*), games of patience (pl. 24, *m*), and cat's cradle serve for the amusement of bigger boys and girls.

THE BOYS' CLASS

At about six years of age the boys begin to have a sense of age-class solidarity, a fact that strongly affects their relations with their families. No one urges them to form such a company, which is joined quite spontaneously, by some of them earlier, by others later. This is a natural consequence of an environment surcharged with a socioceremonial spirit. As their model they take the youngest of the four official age classes, and whenever this group plays its part in a major ceremonial this has an obviously stimulating effect on the minors.

I first observed this in 1930 at the second ketúaye of the subsequent põhĩtíkama class. About fifteen boys (from among twice that number), mostly six to eight years old united as an unofficial class. *On their own request* the council appointed an instructor, mekapónkate, for them; and he taught them to plait, shoot, sing and dance, explained the ceremonial, and enjoined upon them to be honest and comradely. They went jointly to bathe and hunt, arranged races and log races—in short, prepared in every respect for their future status as a recognized class. The elders even gave them a class name—Pądntųktíkama (pądntųkti, black arara). Three years later the põhĩtíkama completed their cycle of initiation and precipitated a shift of age classes in the plaza; and the minors were then admitted as the junior eastern class, mepantúa, to the northeast station there, acquiring the name Kra'tãkama. As already stated, they began racing against the western mepantúa, a group on the average ten years older. In the following year, when subjected to their first ketúaye, they had their organization completed.

On my return in 1935 I found a new boys' class in process of formation. In 1936 I saw them nicely imitating the adults' erection of a hadre mast at the opening of the vų'tẹ' period. A group of hunters comprising members of both age-class moieties had prepared a mast 6 m. high outside the village. Having wound foliage round it and tied on the sliced game, they carried it into the village at a trot. Ahead of them a man came dashing and uttering piercing yells; in the center of the plaza he dug a hole for the post. At once the women came rushing up from all directions. The hunters planted the pole in the pit and held it erect, but pretended to let it drop now in one direction, now in the other, which naturally made the women run thither. At last the men laid down the mast, and the women stripped it pell-mell while one of the Clowns at the last moment tried to drag it away. Hardly was this

[28] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 108 *f.*

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561 scene over before several other Clowns came running with a small, gnarled tree
527 from which intestines, pieces of wood, but also some slices of good meat were sus-
536 pended, of which the women likewise took possession.

On the following day the boys went hunting and killed a number of small birds and steppe rats. They tied their spoils to a tree, dragged it to the plaza, and set it upright, while the little girls came running from all sides to pillage it. Other boys had tied their game to the tip of their long tuft of hair and ran across the plaza, chased by the girls, who finally despoiled them of the booty.

GROWING GIRLS

867 At the age of boys beginning to organize, the girls already assist their mothers at
868 home and in the plantations and mostly excel them as dancers and singers in the
[581] plaza. Public opinion exacts competence in both spheres. A girl unfit for domestic and farming labor will not readily find a husband; but the collaboration of girls in the chanting and dancing that is indispensable for every festival and ceremonial is considered equally important. No Timbira mother would restrain her daughter from attending a dance on the ground of work to be done at home or in the plots.
626 If there are too few girls in the plaza for a dance, the truants are publicly reproved
561 by the elders, who may send specially delegated men to fetch them out of their maternal homes. One of these messengers advances the tip of his sword-club toward the girl, who is obliged to clasp it, and he then leads her by the club to the plaza. Such treatment may be accorded to girls no older than ten, and at about twelve both sexes are in the thick of the manifold socioceremonial life of age classes, festive societies, and other units.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF THE SEXES

562 Before discussing the relations of the sexes during and prior to wedlock, I wish
184 to state explicitly what is sufficiently apparent from the description of social struc-
622 ture: Neither sex considers the other inferior; the sexes have distinct functions, not higher and lower ones. Of course there are no feminine chiefs or councilors, and the religious ceremonies on behalf of the commonweal are always performed by men. Further, there is no preponderantly feminine organization. On the other hand, women not only own dwellings and plantations, but also have a claim on the children, and except in warfare nothing is undertaken without feminine participation, whence the vụ'tẹ́ institution (p. 92), the girl associates in the festive societies and the boys' initiation (p. 95 f.), and the resulting membership of women in the hạmrén (p. 97 f.). There is but a single wholly masculine organization, that of the King Vultures; and this is due to their comprising all the honorary chiefs, which automatically excludes women since female chiefs are unknown. The two types of formalized friendship likewise embrace both sexes, even though the circumstances in which the kwụ'nõ bond is established restrict the number of females capable of entering it (p. 104).

578 In contrast to tribes with masculine societies for terrorizing women or with other
562 methods of frightening them,[39] the Rąmkõ'kamekra seem to be above all interested
183 in a merry comradeship of the two sexes. This attitude rests on the manifest appreciation of feminine personality. If a girl or woman differs in opinion from a man and agreement is hopeless, the matter is allowed to rest; it would be regarded as mean and ridiculous for a man to get angry, let alone try coercion. All relations
050 rest on free consent within the tribal code. Accordingly rape was unknown, the

[39] Nimuendajú and Lowie, The Associations of the Šerénte, 415.

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pushed the ceremonial lance into the ground in their midst and in a speech admonished them to be orderly and obedient.

At nightfall the pepyé of the atų'k moiety, using the path outside the house circle, dispersed to their several huts; but the pepyé of the ką' moiety waited until daybreak, since night belongs to the atų'k and the daytime to the ką'.

Before sunrise all pepyé received through the fence of their yard enormous gourd bottles specially made and filled with water by their kinswomen on the previous evening. With this they washed themselves for the first time since their capture. Henceforth the ablutions, which are designed to promote rapid growth recur twice daily.

The monkeys' visit.—On June 21, at 5:30 P.M., the wakõ'kama and the unofficial class of the as yet uninitiated pantų'ktĩkama boys assembled in the plaza with half a dozen young wantons. They painted their bodies black, drew wide, black horizontal stripes above the eyes, and tied bast tails with spirally coiled ends to the back of their belts, thus simulating monkeys (kukóe). Suddenly they hurled themselves on all fours, and thus sped in a dense troop along the radial path to the eastern leader's house of retreat. Crying like monkeys, grimacing and gesticulating, they took the yard by storm, some climbing the lofty fence with truly simian agility, while others broke through it. In every yard food had been deposited in readiness for them, and they at once took it along. After wildly carrying on their antics in the first house, the whole mad four-legged company rushed to the next, and so on from the west northward round the entire circle. When this performance was over two "nocturnal monkeys" (*Aotus trivirgatus*, Humboldt) appeared in the dark and also received some food. The pepyé remained in their cells hidden from the monkeys throughout the whole of this act.

Inspection of pepyé.—On July 12 all the men whose sisters' sons were in the pepyé seclusion, assembled in the plaza, ranging themselves by plaza groups. When all were present, the six companies amid loud shouting, suddenly dashed off simultaneously, each to the retreat of some member's nephew. Invading the yard by way of the fence, they took up positions in front of the rear door of the cell. The novice's uncle stepped ahead of the others and uttered three loud and piercing yells, whereupon the boy called came crawling out of the tiny exit. No sooner had he appeared, however, than his uncle bawled at him anew, chasing him in again. In this fashion each plaza group treated all the affiliated pepyé, then they returned to their plaza stations and withdrew after a given signal.

Notwithstanding the lightning rapidity of this inspection, everyone was bound to be impressed with the physical transformation of the novices during their three months' internment. With only a few exceptions they had grown perceptibly stouter and their skin, unaffected by either sunshine or paint, often displayed amazingly light tints.

Suspension of internment.—Two days later, on July 14, long before daybreak, the catcher continually made his circuit, uttering his hinkõ' cry. The pepyé, on the other hand, painted themselves from head to foot with the yellow pigment from the urucú root. On this background they then added in red urucú paint, the lines identifying them as ką' or atų'k, respectively.

At 5:30 A.M. the scene of the catcher and the wakõ'kama performed on the afternoon of May 27 was repeated: the former, running back and forth, conducted the class to the retreat of the eastern leader, whom he pulled out by his hair. At once the novice's uncle approached, screaming at his nephew to keep still, that he himself had experienced the same treatment in his day and had gladly submitted to it. In

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voice. He betakes himself to a certain house on the eastern side of the village that always serves as Fish lodge at a tepyarkwá, and summons the young people. All except the Clowns come painted red, irrespective of their social affiliations. The council further appoints two nominal Fish chiefs called tepti (= Suruby), wearing a forehead band with long points (the Suruby barbules). Four kutápti (= jejú) are appointed as messengers of the Fish (pl. 41, *a*). A girl about ten years old is likewise selected by the council to serve as girl crier (kõyamprõkuičwę'i) and is decorated with falcon down in the Fish lodge.

The girl associates of the several companies, except for the Clowns' (pl. 41, *b*), are appointed not by the members but by the council; the Fish Otters have only one girl, the other companies two each. In the plaza the councilors softly discussed their choice and in low tones communicated their decision to their herald, Pąrkrá, who would trot off singing on his way to the girl designated and extend the tip of his sword club toward her, which she would grasp with her hand; thus he would lead her to her proper place. The girl associates of the several Fish companies are chosen from those houses in the village circle which correspond in their position to the company in the plaza.

Each Fish company has its peculiar songs, which they sing daily in their huts. Daily, too, they collect food, as described, on a march around the circle; and the Clowns "angle" for their share. The Fish Otters, who play a distinctive role, get their food from the other companies.

On the day of the decision to hold the festival there were afternoon log races of men and girls, followed by a relay race of the girls around the boulevard.

The next morning before sunrise the tepyarkwá was inaugurated by plaza dances. In the afternoon men and girls again ran log races, as well as relay races, and pairs of men raced clear across the plaza. Then followed the appointment of the girl associates as described—except in the case of the Clowns.

The several Fish companies and Fish Otters assembled in their lodge on the east side of the village, being summoned thither by the crier's prolonged, piercing yells. At 4:45 P.M. a loud patter of feet became audible in the house, and out stepped the crier, his maternal uncle, the girl crier and her special "friends" (kričwę'i).[a] They marched around the boulevard, the crier uttering his strident call before the maternal home of each Fish company member. Then food was brought out of each of these houses and laid on a mat in the space in front of the building. The Fish companies, in two lines, now marched slowly around the ring, headed by the crier and his companions. The crier's uncle would constantly run ahead a bit, return to the Fishes, rub together the palms of his hands, run ahead, etc. This is the customary ceremonial way of conducting any organization to a definite spot or along a definite route. One of the messengers meanwhile ran ahead, picking up the food, and handed it to the Fish before whose maternal home it had been lying.

When all the food had been gathered in, the Fishes, numbering fifty-three, marched to the plaza, forming a compact mass in its very center. The two tepti, each holding a bundle of maize cobs in his hands, ran round the group in opposite directions till they met. Then they would brandish the cobs at each other, turn face about, run in the reverse direction until they met again, and so forth.

527 575 536

Clowns.—In the meantime the Clowns had assembled in their lodge, also on the east side, but farther toward the north. There they prepared their grotesque decoration, including amorphous "fishing rods" consisting of a crooked, unsmoothed pole and any kind of cord for a line.

[a] This seems to be a variant of the usual pinčwę'i. R. H. L.

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Suddenly out of the Clown lodge stepped an old man, ridiculously made up, accompanied by a young lad and a boy who were carrying grass pouches hung from their bodies. The old man was carrying the "fishing rod" and simulated walking along the edge of some body of water harboring fish. He pretended to look for a favorable place to throw his line, but encountered all manner of mishaps. First, a tocandira ant stung him so as to make him hop on one leg screaming, then he suddenly bumped his head against a wasp's nest hanging from the branch of a tree and was naturally attacked by its inmates, whereupon he burnt up the nest. All this was done so realistically that all the spectators at once understood the intended meaning, even though there were no signs of water, wasps, or fire. When he had with comical gratification ascertained the Fishes' presence, he went to the radial path leading to his company's lodge and whistled. The Clowns answered from within, but the old man looked about in amazement in all directions, finally declaring that apparently some one in the sky had answered. Then the Clowns came out of their lodge with all sorts of absurd decoration and implements, marched to the plaza, surrounded the Fishes, pretending to throw lines, and carried on their antics in other ways.[**]

Suddenly Chief Hąktõkót, representing the "old Fish Otter," ran yelling toward the Fish, whereupon the Fish Otter company, numbering some twenty men, separated from the rest and took positions on the east side of the plaza. Simultaneously the Fish societies proper gathered on the west. The Clowns picked up the victuals remaining in the center and betook themselves to their appropriate place on the north of the plaza, where they distributed and ate them. But while still en route the old Clown was "bitten by a snake" and wallowed on the ground with pain; two other Clowns approached, pretending to treat him, and sucked out of his sore foot string that was some meters in length!

On the following day the seven huts of the companies participating in the tepyarkwá were put up in the proper sites at the periphery of the plaza. They were small rectangular gable huts except for that of the Fish Otters, which was a conical framework of poles, and 6 m. high (pl. 42). At the center post (tẽ'rekuičwẽ'iyapírčą, Fish Otter girl's ladder) a number of tree forks had been allowed to remain so as to permit the girl (there is only one in this company) to climb up—not to serve as a lookout, as I had once conjectured, but to save herself during the impending attack on the hut by the other Fish companies. The Clowns' hut, like everything pertaining to this organization, was crooked and poorly fashioned; on the gable side an old frayed basket was set flaglike on a crooked pole. Nor did the Clowns scruple to burn down their hut on occasion from sheer mischief and to put up another that was still worse-looking in its place.

[**] An earlier field trip by the author resulted in the following observations: Then the Fish chief and his retinue begin to make a pattering noise in their lodge, whereupon they move out to the boulevard and gather food from their mothers' maternal homes, while the Suruby holds a sweet potato between his teeth. The crier and the girl walk ahead to scout for food. When a collection has been made along the circuit, they march with it to the plaza, circle around it and take up positions in the center of the plaza. Soon the Clown headman comes with a gigantic bow "to inspect the fish in the lake." Then he steps aside a bit, and whistles through the hollow of his hands, thus calling his comrades, whom he tells how many fish there are in the lake. The Clowns with baskets slung over their shoulders and their uncouth rods in their hands now cautiously approach to surround the fish. They throw the ends of the line among the Fish, who tie vegetable produce to them. As soon as the Fish start a patter with their feet, the Clowns lift the rods aloft and collect the booty in their baskets for subsequent distribution in their lodge.

The Fish, however, disperse, grouping themselves once more on the plaza according to the six plaza groups, each spending the night at its appropriate station. On the following morning each group sends out one man to hunt, while the other members erect a little hut at the plaza site belonging to each group.

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In these huts the members loafed much of the day with their girl associates, who prepared the collected food, painted them, romped with them, and for the most part were not averse to a bit of philandering.[88] The teprâti, however, bitterly complained that Kahęrkwę'i, one of their two associates, was extraordinarily unaccommodating, would deprecate love affairs, and simply ran off when the members would not leave her alone. Thereupon they went to the council and begged for the appointment of a substitute, so Kahęrkwę'i was superseded by Ačukwę'i, who is considered a veritable gem in point of amiability. As a member of this company I spent much time in the hut and was able to observe all of this episode at close range.

Eight days later the Clowns again indulged in mad pranks. Secretly assembling near the village, in the woods by the bank of a stream, they put on their grass ornaments, that is, bandoleers, wristlets, knee bands, cravat, and forehead band with two erect brushlike tassels and long temple fringes, all of burity bast. Moreover, each Clown made for himself a pole 2 to 3 m. long; it had poker-work designs and a grass tassel below the tip. The two girl associates whom they had meanwhile elected were decorated with falcon down. Besides their cord girdles with short leaf apron, they wore forehead bands, wristlets, and bandoleers like the men's; also they were decorated with false queues over a meter in length, which except for the enormous terminal tassel were wrapped with bast and hung down to their calves. Their bandoleers resembled those of the precentresses, but were coarsely plaited of bast and had huge bast tassels.

The Clowns usually choose ex-vụ'tę' for their girls, conducting them from their homes with absurd antics. But at the time of the last performance witnessed, one of these women had recently been delivered of a child, so the members substituted a young married woman named Kąyarí. A jolly lass, she compensated for the shortcomings of the other associate, the ex-vụ'tę' Repíya, who somewhat resembled the above-mentioned Kahęrkwę'i in disposition, so that she was little qualified for the part of a Clowns' companion.

For sheer mischief one of the men could not refrain from putting on a girl's leaf apron, producing the same effect as a civilized man would in a woman's clothes. I explicitly emphasize that this was pure buffoonery and in no way betokened a "berdache." By way of contrast to this "bashful" Clown, another sheathed his penis in a long, slightly curved *Lagenaria* tied on so as to form a phallus 30 cm. in length.

However, the main decorative piece of this company was a female doll 60 cm. in height and carved from the pith of the burity. Its face was painted with urucú, and the figure wore beaded cords around the neck, chest, wrists, and knee joints. Kąyarí acted the part of the doll's mother.

In the afternoon the Clowns suddenly marched into the village and went to their hut, where they presently enacted a series of extravagant family scenes, such as I had fortunately never witnessed in real life among the Rąmkõ'kamekra.

First, the doll's "kin" furiously attacked and beat up the "mother" for maltreatment of her child, whom she was accused of having thrown down and otherwise abused. Others took the mother's part, and she herself was not backward in vigorously defending herself, most disrespectfully dragging an old Clown along the ground by one of his legs. There ensued a scene of adultery. One Clown conducted the "mother" behind the hut, where both lay down and simulated cohabitation. Another man arrived and relieved the first. Then the transgression was discovered, precipitating a first-rate row. Finally, the "mother" devotedly sat down, took up her "child," and "nursed" it.

[88] According to earlier notes, one of the male members put food into the girls' mouths.